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Prepared by a Committee of the
NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION.

A List of Works treating of the Origin, Nature, Sphere and End
of Civil Government.

In presenting to the public a list of works on Civil Government two objects are kept in view: first, to give a classified list of the principal books bearing on political and social questions, the study of which will give quite and accurate knowledge on all the important questions relating to the origin of the nation, its moral character and accountability, the source of authority in civil government, the sphere of governmental activity, and the ends for which it exists; second, to help investigators to see for themselves that the fundamental principles of civil government are of a religious nature, and that this is maintained by the great body of writers on political questions.

It is not to be understood that the placing of any book in this list involves an endorsement of all its teachings. Some of them are far astray from certain essential principles. But no work is placed in this list that does not with more or less ability maintain one or more of the Christian principles of civil government.

It is not maintained that the authors of these works would assent to all the conclusions drawn from their teachings by the National Reform Association. It is maintained however, that these conclusions follow as a logical conclusion from the political principles these authors advocate.

The student of political science finds very early in his studies that what is known as the Social Compact theory of government receives a great deal of attention. No one, in fact, can pretend to be well informed in political science who does not know pretty thoroughly the origin, the history, and the characteristics of this theory. This is so for many reasons. It has been widely accepted in former years by political writers in this and in other countries. It has been incorporated into some of our States constitutions. It is about the only one of the numerous theories of past generations that still has its advocates. It contains elements of truth which every candid mind must admit. It aims to account for the very fact of society, to explain why we have civil government, whence the right to establish it proceeds, and claims to explain all this in a social compact or mutual agreement of men. In this it teaches false political doctrine. What it can and does do is to explain how

any particular government came into being, how the men in office came to be clothed with authority, and how the existing constitutions and codes of law were adopted. These things are the result of compact or agreement, and in this department of political science this theory has its place.

It has been thought best to begin the list of books with one that advocates the Social Compact theory of government as the fairest way to bring the whole matter before the minds of investigators. Thomas Hobbes is chosen as the representative of this school of political philosophers because in a sense he was the founder of the school. Others before him had maintained some of the principles of the theory, but to him belongs the credit of reducing it to a clear and systematic form. Mr. Hobbes is selected for the additional reason that he, after all, maintains some of the fundamental principles of Christian government. He is often spoken of as an atheist, but this he certainly was not. In his philosophy he was what is now known as a materialist, and it is generally believed that his teachings in philosophy would undermine all religious faith, but he was very much averse to being classed with heretics in religion, and Part III of the work referred to below is entitled, "Of A Christian Commonwealth."

I. WORKS ON POLITICAL SCIENCE.

Leviathan. By Thomas Hobbes. George Routledge and Sons, London.

Hobbes starts with the supposition that there was a period when society and government did not exist, a state of nature when all men were absolutely free. Of this state of nature he says:

"Hereby it is manifest, that during the time men lived without a common power to keep them all in awe, they were in that condition which is called war; and such a war, as is of every man against every man." (p. 64.) "To this war of every man against every man, this also is consequent; that nothing can be unjust. The notions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, have then no place. Where there is no common power, there is no law; where no law, no injustice." (p. 65.) "Because the condition of man, . . . is a condition of war of every one against every one; in which case every one is governed by his own reason; and there is nothing he can make use of, that may not be a help to him, in preserving his life against his enemies; it followeth, that in such a condition, every man has a right to every thing; even to another's body. And therefore, as long as this natural right of every man to everything endureth, there can be no security to any man, how strong or wise soever he may be, of living out the time which Nature ordinarily alloteth men to live." (p. 66.)

On the origin of the Commonwealth he says: "The final cause, end or design of men, who naturally love liberty, and dominion over others in the introduction of that restraint upon themselves, in which we see them live in commonwealths, is the foresight of their own preservation, and of a more contented life thereby; that is to say, of getting themselves out from that miserable condition of war which is necessarily consequent . . . to the natural passions of men when there is no visible power to keep them in awe, and tie them by fear of punishment to the performance of their covenants." "The only way to erect such a common power, as may be able to defend them from the invasion of foreigners, and the injustice of one another, and thereby to secure them in such sort, as they may live by their own industry, and by the fruits of the earth, they may nourish themselves and live contentedly, is, to confer all their power and strength upon one man or upon one assembly of men, that may reduce all their

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wills, by plurality of voices, unto one will: . . . This done, the multitude so united in one person is called a 'commonwealth,' in latin '*civitas*.' This is the generation of that great 'leviathan' or rather to speak more reverently, of that mortal god to which we owe under the 'immortal God,' our peace and defence." (pp. 82, 84.)

This account is here given because it has figured prominently in political science and in the framing of constitutions of civil government. It has had a long period of dominant influence in the United States, many of our State constitutions setting it forth as the true theory of the origin of the State.

Hobbes regarded this Leviathan when once it was created as having supreme authority, and denied to the individual contractors the right to break the agreement. But he held that the monarch or sovereign assembly "hath immediate authority from God, . . . and no man but the sovereign receiveth his power *Dei gratia* simply." Again he says, "Sovereigns in their own dominions are their sole legislators," but, he adds, "It is true, that God is the sovereign of all sovereigns; and when he speaks to any subject he ought to be obeyed, whatsoever any earthly potentate command to the contrary." (p. 172.) Of Jesus Christ the Messiah he maintains that in the future he is to be Messianic King, but that "as God he is king already and ever shall be, of all the earth, in virtue of his omnipotence."

The next great advocate of this theory after Hobbes was Locke. His political writings are entitled, "Two Treatises of Government." In the first he controverts the Patriarchal theory as advocated by Robert Filmer, and in the second he sets forth the social compact theory. But instead of arriving at Hobbes' conclusion that the compact creates a despotic power, he reached the very opposite conclusion that it is the bulwark of liberty. Rousseau, a citizen of Geneva, next took up this theory and in his work entitled *Contrat Social*, gave it the shape in which it has had the most influence in the United States. Brownson says that "the theory was generally adopted by the American people in the last century and is still the more prevalent theory with those of them who happen to have any theory or opinion on the subject."

The Science of Politics. By Sheldon Amos. D. Appleton and Co. New York.

Professor Amos says of the Social Compact theory, that it is "fictitious in itself, and added nothing to the fact of obligation on either side, while it led to political confusion by withdrawing people's minds from the real grounds and moral foundation on which the reciprocal duties of the Governor and the Governed rest." (p. 46.)

The Christian State. By S. Z. Batten. The Griffith and Rowland Press, Philadelphia.

Mr. Batten finds "the origin of the State in the Nature of man and the purpose of God." This view he says "gives us two things that we need for all clear and rational thought. It gives us at once the origin of the State and the justification for its existence. It grounds the State in the very nature of man and the purpose of God, and it contains a justification for its existence in the very nature of life itself." (pp. 52, 53.)

Chapter XII is entitled "The State and its Religion." He speaks as follows on this topic: "In all ages and lands religion has been the potent factor in human life, and the central feature of human history. The chief fact with regard to a man, says Carlyle, is his religion. 'The truth is' says Professor Seeley, 'that religion is and always has been, the basis of societies and States. It is no mere philosophy, but a practical view of life which whole communities live by. . . . From history we learn that the great function of religion has been the founding and sustaining of States. And at this moment we are threatened with a general dissolution

of States from the decay of religion.' This means that the kind and quality of a people's religion will both create and determine their social and political institutions. And this means that the decay and degeneration of a people's social and civil life can be traced back to the decline and decay of their religion. . . . It is unfortunate that this larger question of the State and its religion has, in these Western lands in modern times been narrowed down to the smaller one of the relation of Church and State. This latter question has played an important part in the history of political thought; and it promises to play an even more important part in the drama of the future. In the United States and France a temporary solution and a working *modus vivendi* have been discovered. But it is evident to all careful observers that the present relation is not by any means the solution of the problem, and the last word on the question has not been spoken. . . . This whole movement in behalf of liberty of conscience and the separation of Church and State, has been largely negative in character. . . . Again, to know the sphere of Christian manifestation we must know what is the essential idea of Christianity. It has become evident that the idea of the kingdom of God is the very center and circumference of the Christian system. . . . But the kingdom is not only a personal ideal, but a social ideal as well. . . . In what is called the Church we have one of the institutions of the kingdom and of the agencies for its extension in the world. But a natural and inevitable question meets us at this point: Is the Church the sole institution of Christianity? When the Christian spirit has created the Christian Church, has it fulfilled its whole mission in the world? The very conception of the religion of Christ, the very idea of the kingdom of God, forbids such a conclusion. And so we must widen the boundaries of the kingdom till they have included all the relations and institutions of man's life, the family, and the State, no less than the Church. . . . The religion of Christ, which is the religion of the kingdom of God, must have to do with civic and social affairs no less than with personal and ecclesiastical matters. . . . They who would exclude religion from political affairs show an utter misconception of the nature of religion and the work of the Church. It matters not whether this divorce is pronounced in the name of religion or politics it is wrong in principle and pernicious in results. They who say that the Church is the one sole institution of religion, and that religion has nothing to do with social and political affairs, utterly misconceive the work of the Church and the nature of religion. They who say that the State is a non-religious realm, and with it Christianity has nothing to do, misunderstand the nature of Christianity and the meaning of the State. Religion is a universal principle and has to do with all life. The Church is one of the institutions of religion, but the State needs religion as much as the Church." (pp. 294, 301.)

The American Republic, By O. A. Brownson, LL. D. P. O'Shea,
New York.

In combatting the Social Compact theory of government as maintained by Hobbes and others, he says: "The theory under examination denies that society has any rights except such as it derives from individuals who all have equal rights. According to it, society is itself conventional, and created by free, independent, equal, sovereign individuals. Society is a congress of sovereigns, in which no one has authority over another, and no one can be rightfully forced to submit to any decree against his will. In such a congress the rule of the majority is manifestly improper, illegitimate, and invalid, unless adopted by unanimous consent.

But this is not all. The individual is always the equal of himself, and if the government derives powers from the consent of the governed, he governs in the government, and parts with none of his original sovereignty. The government is not his master, but his agent, as the principal only delegates, not surrenders, his rights and powers to the agent. He is free at any time he pleases to recall the powers he has delegated, to give new instructions, or to dismiss him. The sovereignty of the individual survives the compact, and persists through all the acts of his agent, the government.

He must then, be free to withdraw from the compact whenever he judges it advisable. Secession is perfectly legitimate if government is simply a compact between equals. The disaffected, the criminal, the thief the government would send to prison, or the murderer it would hang, would be very likely to revoke his consent, and to secede from the state." (pp. 62,63.) In setting forth the divine origin of government he says: "In civil society two things are necessary—stability and movement. The human is the element of movement, for in it are possibilities that can be only successfully actualized. But the element of stability can be found only in the divine, in God, in whom there is no unactualized possibility, who, therefore, is immovable, immutable, and eternal. The doctrine that derives authority from God through the people, recognizes in the state both of these elements and provides alike for stability and progress.

"This doctrine is not mere theory; it simply states the real order of things. It is not telling what ought to be, but what is in the real order." (p. 123.) In defining the method whereby this authority is derived by the people from God, he says: "The right of government to govern, or political authority, is derived by the collective people or society, from God through the law of nature. Rulers hold from God through the people or nation, and the people or nation hold from God through the natural law." (p. 133.)

Essays and Reviews. By O. A. Brownson, LL.D. P. J. Kennedy and
ons, New York.

Many writers on Democracy consider the people as the fountain source of authority and law. Brownson goes back one step farther and asks who or what is to take care of the people? "The people take care of government and education, but who or what is to take care of the people, who need taking care of quite as much as either education or government? We know of but one solution of the difficulty, and that is in religion. There is no foundation for virtue but in religion, and it is only religion that can command the degree of popular virtue and intelligence requisite to insure to popular government the right direction and a wise and just administration." (Page 372.)

The Principles of Politic Law. By J. J. Burlamaqui. John Rice,
ublin,

The sources and binding obligation of law are shown to have a religious character. "The authority of the laws consists in the force given them by the person who, being invested with the legislative power, has a right to enact these laws; and in the Divine Will which commands us to obey Him. 'It is better to obey God than men.' For in promising a faithful obedience to the sovereign we could never do it but on condition that he should not order anything that is manifestly contrary to the laws of God, whether natural or revealed." In framing law the sovereign "should pay a perfect regard to these primitive rules of justice which God Himself has established, and take care that his laws be perfectly comfortable to them." (Pp. 123, 128, 129.)

The Ancient City. By Fustel De Coulanges. Lee and Shepard,
oston.

That religion permeated early customs and institutions, constituting their moving power, is the thesis of De Coulanges. "The place of assembly of the Roman senate was always a temple. If a session had been held elsewhere than in a sacred place, its acts would have been null and void, for the gods would not have been present. Before every deliberation, the president offered a sacrifice and pronounced a prayer. The political institutions

of the city were born with the city itself and on the same day with it. Every member of the city carried them with himself, for the germ of them was in each man's belief and religion." (Pp. 217, 231.)

Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation. By T. H. Green. Longmans, Green and Company, New York.

The grounds of political obligation lie in the State as the pre-supposition of the moral life. Without the State man could not reach the realization of his highest and best self. The State, therefore, is involved in the moral nature of man and from that fact derives its authority. "The condition of the moral life is the possession of will and reason. The value, then, of the institutions of civil life lies in their operation as giving reality to these capacities of will and reason, and enabling them to be really exercised. The moral capacity implies a consciousness on the part of the subject of the capacity that its realization is an end desirable in itself, and rights are the condition of realizing it."

The Sphere of the State. By F. S. Hoffman, Ph.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

In dealing with the Social Compact theory of government Professor Hoffman says that as a theory it is utterly fallacious, that "it led to the French Revolution and our late rebellion, and that wherever introduced it tends to national strife and ultimate disintegration. As a theory of government it is a true doctrine, if we mean simply the form of the government. It is not left to the people whether they will have a government or not, any more than it is left to them to determine whether or not they will live in a State. The government is a necessity as truly as the State, but the people in their organic capacity as a State ought to determine by social compact not only who are to be their governors, but also the mode of their selection and the sphere of their activities. . . . All just government is of God through the people. For man is so made by his Creator that he must live in a State, and the State must have a government." (Pp. 22, 33.)

On the relation of the State to religion the author says: "We unhesitatingly advocate the doctrine that religious instruction, as well as secular should be given in the schools of the State. But solely as a means to an end—not as an end in itself." (P. 46.)

Political Ethics. By Francis Lieber, LL. D. J. B. Lippincott and Co. Philadelphia.

On the moral character and personality of the State Dr. Lieber says "The state being a jural society, and rights being imaginable between moral beings only, it follows that the state has likewise a moral character and must maintain it. From what constitutes right, as has been shown it appears that no right, consequently no specific rights, can exist between animals or irrational beings, since the right is founded on the claim each rational or moral being makes on every other rational or moral being. (Vol. I. pp. 158, 159.)

In opposition to the Social Compact theory Dr. Lieber speaks thus "Wherever we find men, in whatever stage of social development, the barbarous Patagonians, the restless son of the desert, the moving hunter of the prairie, the piratical Malay, the forlorn Esquimaux, the slavish Asiatic or the free American, the submissive Russian or the manly Briton, where there are men, there are also rules, rulers and ruled, ordainers and obeyers, judges and judged, those that have power and those that yield obedience, chieftain and followers, princes and subjects, magistrates and citizens—always superiors and inferiors. The state is natural to man, is absolutely necessary to man." (Vol. I. pp. 215, 216.)

Civil Liberty and Self Government. By Francis Lieber, LL. D. J. B. Lippincott and Co. Philadelphia.

On the question of Church and State and religion and the State Dr. Lieber says: "The Americans consider it (the separation of Church and State,) as a legitimate consequence of the liberty of conscience. They believe that the contrary would lead to disastrous results with reference to religion itself, and it is undeniable that another state of things could not by possibility have been established here. We believe, moreover, that the great mission of this country has to perform, with reference to Europe, requires this total divorce of state and church (not religion). (p. 259.)

First Principles in Politics. By William Samuel Lilly, Honorary Fellow of Peterhour, Cambridge. John Murray, London.

"Civil society is natural to man, and so may, and must, be regarded by all theists as instituted by the Author of Nature. (P. 21.)

The State and the Individual. By William Sharp McKechnie, LL. B. James MacLehose and Sons, Glasgow.

In speaking of the impossibility of excluding religion and morality from the sphere of the State he says that once "It was held that the world might be split as by the stroke of a knife into two compartments—the spiritual and temporal—over which Pope and Emperor should respectively rule. The course of history. . . is sufficient of itself to prove the fallacy on which this division rested. Philosophy gives an equally clear denial to the possibility of any such absolute dualism"

"It may still be asked whether the State's proper sphere includes morality. It is sometimes said that it does not, but several reasons show that it is impossible for the legislative and administrative authorities utterly to banish all moral considerations from their ken. In the first place, each State must act among other States, and is forced to deal with matters involving questions of morality whether it like it or no. It may, at its peril, consistently ignore the ethical aspects of what it does, or boldly declare its defiance of them, but this refusal to see the light does not evade penal responsibility or avoid the consequences of a violated moral law." (p. 94.)

"No true right of the individual can be opposed to the rights of a moral State." (p. 433.)

The Nation. By E. Mulford. Hurd and Houghton, New York.

Dr. Mulford presents a number of arguments to prove that the nation is a moral person, the chief of which are these: "This is the condition of its vocation, as in the fulfilment of its vocation there is the formation of its character." "The nation is a moral person, since it is called as a power in the coming kingdom in which there is the moral government of the world, and in whose completion there is the goal of history. It is a power in the moral conflict and conquest which is borne through history, to the final triumph of the good." "The being of the nation as a moral person has its witness in the consciousness of men. It has awakened the higher moral emotion, and its response has been from the higher moral spirit. It has called forth the willing sacrifice of those who were worthy. The life of the individual has been given for the life of the nation." (pp. 19, 21.)

On the origin of the nation with its power and authority he says: "The nation has a divine foundation, and has for its end the fulfilment of the divine in history." "The evidence of the origin of the nation is in its necessary nature." "The nation is an organic unity; it is not an artificial fabric nor an abstract system, but it is a life which is definite and disparate, and has a development; therefore it has not its origin in the individual nor

the collective will of man, but must proceed from a power which can determine the origin of organic being. . . .

"The evidence of the origin of the nation is also in its being a moral person. There is and can be for personality, as it transcends physical nature, only a divine origin, and its realization is in a divine relation." "The powers with which the nation is invested are also indicative of its origin. It is clothed with an authority, and has a majesty which no power of earth may assume. The affirmation of its will is law, but apart from it the will of no man and no collection of men, is law for another. The right of government is its right, but apart from it no man and no collection of men have the right to govern another, and it belongs to the nation only as it is of divine right. There is no human ground on which it can rest. They who are intrusted with it hold it as the representatives of the nation, and as the ministers of the divine purpose in the nation. The President and the Congress, as the Crown and the Parliament rule by the grace of God. . . . If the divine origin and foundation of the nation is denied, the authority of its government is resolved into mere force." (pp. 54, 59.)

"As the nation is called to be a power in history, it is in the realization of its being the Christian nation. It is this in its necessary conception. It has not in its option the alternative to determine whether it shall be, but yet shall or shall not be this, but its necessary realization is the Christian nation. . . . The only completion of the state is in the Christian state." (p. 368.)

"The Christ is represented in his coming as the only King, and as nearer to humanity than in the earlier ages and as revealing in his own life the foundation of its eternal relationships. The Christ is called the only King the Deliverer, in obedience to whom the freedom of the individual and the nation consists. And as there has been in nations the recognition of the Christ as the King, there has been the formation of a national life and the unity in which alone the divisions of race are overcome; and as the nations have rejected the Christ as the King, no more a power in his kingdom, they have passed from history." (pp. 386, 387.)

Government and the State. By Frederick Wood. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. (1902.) ,

"The universality of religious sentiment is strictly that which brings within State jurisdiction. Of the many qualities which form the character of a community, one is the moral tone, the aggregate of opinion on ethical questions. Whatever violates this tone endangers the State. Religion of extreme difference cannot dwell together and must find their abode in countries of consonant ideas. These facts impress upon all States, to a limited degree, a religious character. This degree has nothing in consonance with that attaching to the union of Church and State." (Pp. III, 112)

Political Science. By Theodore D. Woolsey, Late President of Yale College. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

In dealing with the Social Compact theory of the origin of government Dr. Woolsey says: "Contract does not explain the obligation of subsequent generations to abide by the contract. A successor by testament can be bound to fulfill the conditions if he receive the bequest; but the binding force of a social covenant spends itself when the contracting parties disappear from the earth. They are partners, and the partnership expires unless new members are admitted by their own free consent. Mr. Jefferson, who embraced this contract philosophy, felt this objection so strongly to think that, after nineteen years, when the majority of the first farmers a constitution would no longer be living, constitutions ought regularly to be submitted to the people. On this an American writer remarks that he made the life of states shorter than that of a horse. But he did this logical

His error lay in starting from the basis of express contract, and in resting the obligations of citizens toward the state on a formal transaction, rather than on the nature of man and the necessity of the state. (Vol. I, pp. 191, 192.)

"States have rights which cannot be derived from rights surrendered by individuals. . . . Society in the state-form has a right over the lives of individuals, so far as, for instance, to punish wilful murder capitally. But the murdered man certainly did not give up his right to punish his murderer. He would have killed him if he could. Nor does it appear that men in general possess, or can give up, a right over their own lives. The right of punishment does not rest on such a flimsy foundation. The trouble that this case gave Rousseau is instructive. . . . Society, in short, has more wisdom and might than the sum of its members, and much more than contending claimants in a given case. Its wisdom and might qualify it for judgment, and it brings these qualities to bear on all. *The right comes not from renounced power but from the state's being, in the natural order of things, God's method of helping men towards a perfect life.* (Vol. I. p. 195.) "How then does the state arise? . . . If the question refers to the rational grounds on which we can justify the existence of an organized society, the answer is found in the destination of men, in their being so made as to seek society, for which they are prepared by the family state, and in the impossibility that society should exist, be permanent and prosper, without law and organization. The individual could make nothing of himself or of his rights except in society; society unorganized could make no progress, could have no security, no recognized rights, no order, no settled industry, no motive for forethought, no hope for the future: The need of such an institution as the state, the physical provision for its existence, the fact that it has appeared everywhere in the world, unless in a few most degraded tribes, show that it is in a manner necessary, and if necessary, natural, and if natural, divine." (Vol. I. p. 198.)

NOTE.—In presenting the list immediately following a word of explanation may be helpful. At the present time the popular view of the origin of the state is known as the historical or evolution view. The authors of most of the recent works on political science hold this view in some form or other. They discard the Social Compact theory in all its forms. They also reject the theory of divine origin. But they mean by this the theory of the divine right of kings. They generally admit that the idea of the state together with possession by the state of sovereign political, authority is to be traced back to God. In applying the theory of evolution to the historical development of the state they seek to trace the various steps of progress whereby the state has become what it is. It must be admitted that the study of political science in the light of history that the various steps of progress may be traced is perfectly legitimate. But this study alone will not tell us how, when or where man began to be a political being and how the state comes to be clothed with authority. Hence many of the writers of this school, in order to find a sure foundation on which to rest the authority of civil government are compelled to trace it back to the Divine Author.

Political Science and Constitutional Law. By J. W. Burgess.

Professor Burgess concedes the divine origin of the state in the following sentences: "If the theologian means by his doctrine of the divine origin of the state simply that the Creator of man implanted the substance of the state in the nature of man, the historian will surely be under no necessity to contradict him." "The principle of the historic genesis of the state does not stand opposed to the doctrine of the divine origin of the state when that doctrine is rationally construed; it includes it and makes it the starting point in the evolution." He makes man's nature the "basis and starting point," and holds that "the Creator of the nature is, therefore, the originator of the subjective state." (pp. 59, 62.)

Elements of Political Science. By Stephen Leacock, Ph. D. McGill University, Montreal. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York.

After showing the fallacies of the Social Compact theory, the theory of the Divine Right of kings and the theory of force as explanations of the origin of the State, Professor Leacock sets forth the Historical or Evolutionary view. He shows that the advocates of this view are not agreed among themselves as to the lines along which the evolution went forward and declares that "it is impossible to predicate any universal course of development or any necessary series of forms which it must assume." Among the products of this political evolution he mentions the separation of Church and State. In this part of his discussion he admits the necessary relation of the State and the moral law. He says: "The early forms of government were theocratic. The functions of priest and king were intermingled or closely allied. The divine law was presumed to constitute the sanction behind human enactments. . . . In the modern state, however generally it may be admitted among the citizens that legislation ought to be based on the ethical principles of Christianity, the interpreters of the divine law, in the form of the priesthood, are not placed in a position of civil authority. The guidance of the spiritual and the political life of the community is in different hands." (p. 50.)

The State. By Woodrow Wilson, LL. D. D. C. Heath and Co. Boston.

After enumerating and discussing various theories of the origin of the state President Wilson says: "Upon each of these theories, nevertheless, there evidently lies the shadow of a truth. Although government did not originate in a deliberate contract, and although no system of law or of social order was ever made 'out of hand' by any man, government was not all a mere spontaneous growth. Deliberate choice has always played a part in its development. It was not, on the one hand, given to man readymade by God, nor was it, on the other hand, a human contrivance. In its origin it was spontaneous, natural, twin-born with man and the family; Aristotle was simply stating a fact when he said, 'Man is by nature a political animal.' But, once having arisen, government was affected, and profoundly affected, by man's choice; only that choice entered, not to originate, but to modify government." (p. 14.)

The Nature of the State. By Westel Woodbury Willoughby, Lecturer in Political Philosophy in the Johns Hopkins University. Macmillan and Co., New York.

Professor Willoughby goes much farther than most writers in separating the State from moral and religious ideas, but he can not bring himself to the point of denying all connection. In studying his discussion of the origin of the State, Chapter III, it should be remembered that his inquiry is "why in any particular case there should exist in a community a definite set of individuals arrogating to themselves the right of exercise of this divine prerogative of rule. All that necessarily follows from the divine theory is that political rule of some sort or other is divinely justified." (p. 52.)

II. WORKS ON JURISPRUDENCE.

American Law. A Commentary on the Jurisprudence, Constitution and Laws of the United States. By James De Witt Andrews. Callaghan and Company, Chicago.

A few short quotations relating to the personality of the State, and to religious instruction in the public schools, are here given:

"The State or society is the necessary and normal, i. e., natural whole, of which men are parts. It is therefore an original rational organism like reason itself, an original fact, an essential condition of human existence." (Vol. I, p. 5.)

Mr. Andrews shows that the word person has two meanings: *First*, every being, artificial or natural, capable of having or *owing* rights. *Second*, the characters, capacities, qualities or positions which the law ascribed to certain men as individuals, that is, rank, condition, capacity—*status*.

"We know that all laws emanate from persons, and also that they operate against or upon *persons*; that is, all law certainly addresses persons. So of rights." (Vol. I, p. 81.) He maintains the personality of the state for the above reasons.

"It would probably be safe to affirm that no American court would hold that an explanation, incidentally given in the course of teaching history or literature, if the tenets of the Christian religion, Mohammedanism, Mormonism, or any other religion, would be a violation of the law, and something must be left to the discretion of those who are conducting the schools and to the courts in the matter, and the intention with which an act is done, and the extent to which it is carried, must be decisive of the matter." (Vol. I, p. 602.)

Commentaries on the Laws of England. By Sir William Blackstone.

With reference to the Social Compact theory of the origin of government, Blackstone says: "Not that we can believe, with some theoretical writers, that there ever was a time when there was no such thing as society either natural or civil; and that, from the impulse of reason, and through a sense of their wants and weaknesses, individuals met together in a large plain, entered into an original contract, and chose the tallest man present to be their governor. This notion of an actually existing unconnected state of nature, is too wild to be seriously admitted; and besides it is plainly contradictory to the revealed account of the primitive origin of mankind. (Vol. I. p. 46.)

Of the nature of Law he says: "Considering the Creator only as a being of infinite *power*, he was able unquestionably to have prescribed whatever laws he pleased to his creature, man, however unjust or severe. But as he is also a being of infinite *wisdom*, he has laid down only such laws as were founded in those relations of justice that existed in the nature of things antecedent to any positive precept.

"Man, considered as a creature, must necessarily be subject to the laws of his Creator, for he is entirely a dependent being." "As man depends absolutely upon his Maker for everything, it is necessary that he should, in all points, conform to his Maker's will. This will of the Maker is called the law of nature." "This law of nature, being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe in all countries, and at all times; no human laws are of any validity, if contrary to this; and such of them as are valid derive all their force and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this original." Speaking of the effect of sin upon the human reason, which would have been sufficient had not man fallen to know what the law of God is as revealed in nature, he says: "this reason is corrupt, and his understanding full of ignorance and error. This has given manifold occasion for the benign interposition of divine Providence, which, in compassion to the frailty, the imperfection, and the blindness of human reason, hath been pleased at sundry times and in divers manners, to discover and enforce its laws by an immediate and direct revelation." "Undoubtedly the revealed law is of infinitely more authenticity than that moral system which is framed by ethical writers, and denominated the natural law; because one is the law of nature, expressly declared so to

be by God himself; the other is only what, by the assistance of human reason we imagine to be that law. . . . Upon these two foundations, the law of nature and the law of revelation, depends all human laws; that is to say, no human laws should be suffered to contradict these." (Vol. I, pp. 39-42.)

Commentaries on American Law. By James Kent. Edited by George F. Comstock. Little, Brown and Company, Boston.

In speaking of the law of Nations Chancellor Kent says: "It would be improper to separate this law entirely from natural jurisprudence, and not to consider it as deriving much of its force and dignity from the same principles of right reason, the same view of the nature and constitution of man, and the same sanction of Divine revelation, as those from which the science of morality is deduced.

"We ought not, therefore, to separate the science of public law from that of ethics, nor encourage the dangerous suggestion, that governments are not so strictly bound by the obligations of truth, justice and humanity, in relation to other powers, as they are in the management of their own local concerns. States, or bodies politic, are to be considered as moral persons, having a public will, capable and free to do right and wrong, inasmuch as they are collections of individuals, each of whom carries with him into the service of the community the same binding law of morality and religion which ought to control his conduct in private life. . . . And we have the authority of the lawyers of antiquity, and of some of the first masters in the modern school of public law, for placing the moral obligation of nations and of individuals on similar grounds, and for considering individual and national morality as parts of one and the same science." (Vol. I. pp. 2, 3.)

Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States. By Joseph Story, LL.D. Little, Brown and Company, Boston.

In speaking of the essential connection between religion and the State Justice Story said, "The promulgation of the great doctrines of religion, the being and attributes and providence of one Almighty God; the responsibility to him for all our actions, founded upon moral freedom and accountability: a future state of rewards and punishments; the cultivation of all the personal, social and benevolent virtues;—these never can be a matter of indifference in any well ordered community. It is indeed difficult to conceive how any civilized society can well exist without them. . . . Indeed in a republic there would seem to be a peculiar propriety in viewing the Christian religion as the great basis on which it must rest for its support and permanence if it be what it has ever been deemed by its truest friends, thy religion of liberty." In discussing the meaning of the first amendment to the national constitution which forbids Congress to make any law respecting an establishment of a religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, he says: "Probably at the time of the adoption of the constitution, and of the amendment to it, now under consideration, the general, if not universal sentiment in America was, that Christianity ought to receive encouragement from the state, so far as was not incompatible with the private rights of conscience and the freedom of religious worship. An attempt to level all religions, and to make it a matter of state policy to hold all in utter indifference, would have created universal disapprobation if not universal indignation.

"It yet remains a problem to be solved in human affairs, whether any free government can be permanent where the public worship of God, and the support of religion, constitute no part of the policy or duty of the state in any assignable shape.

"The real object of the amendment was, not to countenance, much less to advance Mohammedanism, or Judaism, or infidelity, by prostrating Chris-

tianity, but to exclude all rivalry among Christian sects, and to prevent any national ecclesiastical establishment, which should give to a hierarchy the exclusive patronage of the national government." (Vol. I, pp. 661-664.)

The Works of James Wilson, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Professor of Law in the College of Philadelphia. Callaghan and Company, Chicago.

Justice Wilson was one of the signers of the constitution of the United States and ranks among the foremost authorities on questions of jurisprudence.

On the moral personality of the State he says: "A number of individuals, who have formed themselves into a society or state, are, with regard to the purposes of the society, bound to consider themselves as one moral person," (Vol I. p. 322.)

"Though states or nations are considered as moral persons, yet the nature, and essence of these moral persons differ necessarily, in many respects, from the nature and essence of the individuals of which they are composed. (Vol I. p. 135.)

Justice Wilson makes a clear and proper distinction between civil society which is our natural state and existing governments which are the result of agreement. After combating the social compact theory of the state with a series of unanswerable arguments, he says: "To a state of society then, we are invited from every quarter. It is natural, it is necessary, it is pleasing, it is profitable to us. The result of all is that for a state of society we are designated by Him who is all-wise and all good."

III. COMMENTARIES ON THE BIBLE.

Only a few from the great mass of Bible commentaries can be referred to in this Bibliography. The student of political science, however, can do no better than read the Bible itself, as it is after all the greatest of all works on civil government.

The Psalms. By Carl Bernhard Moll, (Lange Series). Scribner's, New York.

In his comments on the Second Psalm he says: "The Messiah's power over the Kingdom of God is destined to be a divine government, not only to *embrace* the world, but also to *conquer* the world; and it has not only this destiny, but has also sufficient *means* in its own *constitution* to accomplish both of these purposes. We must distinguish, however, (1) the means of grace, which are offered previously to all the world, the use of which conveys a blessing to all those who willingly submit themselves to him; . . . and (2) the powers which infinitely surpass all the powers of this world, and which are greatly to be feared when they unfold in their strength in the exhibition of wrath, in the Messianic judgment.

"In the intervening time the Divine word addresses itself not only to the lowly and the weak, but very emphatically to the powerful and those in high positions in the world, who are in special danger of over-rating themselves and of boasting, and, in consequence of this, of misunderstanding neglecting and transgressing the laws of the Kingdom of God, which lie at the basis of all human order, and therefore they need an earnest and gracious admonition to be mindful of their responsibility to the Heavenly King and Judge, and to lead their subordinates in witnessing faithful obedience to their Lord and God, who not only has established the office of magistrate in the world and maintains, protects and blesses the power of the magistrate

among men, but also would stand in a personal relation and communion with those who are clothed with this power, in order that the 'scepter and sword, money and property with which they have been invested by Him, may be used to the glory of God, the good of the kingdom, and the benefit of men."

The Prophet Isaiah. By C. W. Nagelsbach. (Lange Series.) Scribners, New York.

The second chapter is taken to refer exclusively to the nations of the world. It speaks of their receiving instruction in God's ways and of their walking in His paths, and beating their swords into plowshares, etc. The author of the exposition says: "The consequence of this divine instruction, sought and received by the nations, shall be, that the nations shall order their affairs and compose their judicial processes according to the mind of him that has taught them. So shall God appear as that one who judges between the nations and awards a (judicial) sentence. The Spirit of God that lives in His word is a Spirit of love and peace. The God of peace sanctifies, therefore, the nations through and through, so that they no more confront one another in the sense and spirit of the brute power of this world, but in the mind and spirit of the Kingdom of God."

Isaiah, Exposition and Homilies. By Rev. George Rawlinson. (Pulpit Commentary.) A. D. F. Randolph and Company.

In a homily on Chapter 2:6-8 he states as the theme, "National Judgments the result of national sins." In developing this thought he says: "God's dealings with Israel are to be viewed as a pattern of his dealings with nations generally. He has not two standards of right and wrong, or two rules of action under like circumstances. He is no 'respector of persons.' As he dealt with his own peculiar people, so will he deal, so has he always dealt, with the other nations of the world.

"Every nation has its probation. God proved Israel during the space of above seven hundred years by the laws which he gave them, and the circumstances in which he caused them to be placed. He chastened them by foreign enemies, comforted them by deliverances, warned them by his prophets, afflicted them by famine and pestilence, gave them times of refreshing. So long as there was any hope of their repentance and reformation he bore with them, forgave their transgressions, prolonged their time of trial, 'destroyed them not.' It was only after all the resources of his mercy had been exhausted, and there was no remedy left, that the destruction fell, and the nation ceased to exist. And so it was with the other nations of the earth. God raised them up, set each a work to do, gave them laws if not by revelation, at any rate through their conscience, and proceeded to prove them, whether they would work His will or not. Each fell in its turn because it rebelled against God, and persisted in its rebellion, until God could suffer it no more."

Notes on the Book of Daniel. By Albert Barnes. Leavitt and Bros., New York.

Chapter 7 of the Book of Daniel is the record of a vision in which the prophet saw one like the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven. "And there was given Him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations and languages should serve him; His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." V. 14. Dr. Barnes says on this verse: "The nature and the extent of His kingdom is designated as one that would be universal and perpetual." "It would be universal; would embrace all nations. The language here is such as would emphatically denote universality. It implies that the kingdom would extend over all the nations of the earth, and we are to look for the fulfillment of this only in such a universal reign of the Messiah."

The Synoptic Gospels—The Expositor's Greek Testament. By A. B. Bruce, D.D. Dodd, Mead and Company, New York.

On Matthew, Chapter 28:18, "All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and upon earth," Dr. Bruce says that the term authority means "every form of authority; command of all means necessary for the advancement of the Kingdom of God." "The two phrases (in heaven and upon earth) together point to a universal cosmic dominion. But so far as the earth is concerned, the dominion is only a matter of right or theory, a problem to be worked out. Hence what follows, verse 19." "The commission to the Apostles arises out of the power claimed—all power has been given to me on earth, go ye, *therefore*, and make the power a reality."

The Gospel According to Matthew. By J. P. Lange. Scribners, New York.

In commenting on Chapter 28:18, (All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth), Dr. Lange quotes with approval the words of Dr. Meyer:

"It is an unwarranted rationalizing explanation when this expression is made to mean simply, either the power of ruling the minds of men by means of doctrine, or full power to make all the preparations necessary for the Messianic theocracy. It is the kingly office of Christ without limitation."

A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew. By E. W. Rice. American Sunday School Union, Philadelphia.

On Matthew 28:18, 19, the author says: "It was something more than mere power that Jesus had received. It was the right to rule. It included all the authority and privileges and power of a king in heaven and on earth. He could, therefore, speak with divine authority. His commands were supreme over the subjects of his kingdom."

"Disciple all the nations." "The Greek does not imply that they were to go and make some disciples out of all the nations, but it implies an absolute command to make all the nations disciples of Jesus."

Commentary on the Gospel According to Matthew. (The Pulpit Commentary Series.) By Rev. A. L. Williams.

On Chapter 28:18, "All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth," he says: "Jesus here asserts that He, as Son of man, has received from the Father supreme authority in heaven and earth, over the whole Kingdom of God in its fullest sense."

Paul's Epistle to the Romans. The Expositor's Greek Testament. By the Rev. James Denny, D.D. Dodd, Mead and Company, New York.

On Romans 13:1-6, he says: "There is perhaps nothing in the passage which is not already given in our Lord's words, 'Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's; yet nothing can be more worthy of admiration than the soberness with which a Christian idealist like Paul lays down the Divine right of the State. The use made of the passage to prove the duty of 'passive obedience,' or the right divine of kings to govern wrong, is beside the mark; the Apostle was not thinking of such things at all. What is in His mind is that the organization of human society, with its distinction of higher and lower ranks, is essential for the preservation of moral order, and therefore, one might add, for the existence of the Kingdom of God itself; so that no Christian is at liberty to revolt against that organization. The State is of God, and the Christian has to recognize its Divine right in the persons and requirements in which it is presented to him."

Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. By Charles Hodge. Martien, Philadelphia.

On the thirteenth chapter of this epistle Dr. Hodge says: "All authority is of God. No man has any rightful power over other men, which is not derived from God. All human power is delegated and ministerial. Civil government is a Divine institution, i. e., it is the will of God that it should exist and be respected and obeyed. While government is of God, the form is of men. The obedience which the Scriptures command us to render to our rulers is not unlimited. There are cases in which disobedience is a duty."

The Epistle of Paul to the Romans. By J. P. Lange. Scribners, New York.

On Chapter 13:1-4, Dr. Lange says: "In reference to the civil authority, the Apostle evidently makes the following distinctions: (1) The actual existence of the civil powers, which are in every case an ordinance of God's providence, (here Dr. Riddle, of the Western Theological Seminary, who prepared supplementary notes for the American edition, adds, "not of a social contract, nor simply by the will of the people") and the ideal and real existence of the civil power, which is not merely providentially from God, but is also by creation and institution, fundamentally an ordinance appointed by God."

Dr. Riddle says, further, in his added notes: "The simple, pelucid meaning of the Apostle is, that civil government is necessary, and of Divine appointment. We infer that anarchy is as godless as it is inhuman; that magistrates are not 'the servants of the people,' nor do they derive their authority from the people, but from God, even though chosen by the people that republican officials, no less than the hereditary monarchs, can subscribe themselves, 'by the grace of God.' Unless the principle be of universal application, anarchy will be justified somewhere. This principle, moreover, respects the office, not the character of the magistrate; not the abstract authority, indeed, but the concrete rulers, whatever their character. If it be deemed too sweeping, then its self-imposed limitation has been overlooked. For as the obedience is demanded because of God's appointment, then it is not demanded in matters contrary to God's appointment. When the civil power contradicts God's word and His voice in our conscience, then it contradicts and subverts its own authority."

Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book to the Epistle to the Romans. By H. A. W. Meyer. Funk and Wagnalls, New York.

On Romans 13:1-4, Dr. Meyer says that the word, "*There is no magistracy apart from God*," express in general the proceeding of all magistracy whatever from God, and then this relation is still more precisely defined in respect of those magistracies which exist in *concrete* as a Divine institution by the appointment of God. Thus Paul has certainly expressed the Divine right of magistracy, which Christian princes especially designate by the expression 'by the grace of God.'"

The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans. By the Right Rev. I. C. G. Moule, D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. University Press, Cambridge.

Dr. Moule in commenting on Romans, thirteenth chapter, says: "this passage it is stated, as a primary truth of human society, that civil authority is, as such, a Divine institution. Whatever may be the details, error or of wrong in its exercise, it is nevertheless, even at its worst so vastly better than anarchy that it forms a main instrument and ordinance of the will of God. There is no authority except authority derived from God but the existing authorities have been appointed by God. The first clause emphasizes the absolute inalienable Supremacy of God; the second

phasizes the fact that this Supreme Ruler actually has constituted subordinate authorities on earth, and that these authorities are to be known in each case by their *de facto* existence, and to be obeyed by Christians as God's present order."

The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. Expositor's Greek Testament. By G. G. Findlay.

In commenting on Chapter 15:25-28, he says that these verses "reaffirm, in new words of Scripture, the unlimited dominion assigned to Christ, in order to reassert more impressively the truth that only through His absolute victory can the Kingdom of God be consummated. This subjection of all things to Christ is no infringement of God's sovereignty nor alienation of His rights; on the contrary, it is the means to their perfect realization."

Commentary on Ephesians. (Pulpit Commentary.) By Rev. Prof. W. G. Blaikie, D.D. Anson D. F. Randolph and Company, New York.

In a homily on Chapter 1:21, which speaks of the exaltation of Christ "far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come, he says: "As Head over all things for the Church, He has complete control . . . over all kings and rulers, heathen and Christian, to counteract their opposition or summon them to His side."

Saint Paul's Epistle to the Colossians. By J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D. Macmillan and Company, New York.

An extract is here given from his exegesis of Chapter 1:16, which in describing the glory of Christ, says: "For in Him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things have been created through Him, and unto Him."

Dr. Lightfoot says: "Some commentators have referred the terms used here solely to earthly potentates and dignitaries. There can be little doubt, however, that their chief and primary reference is to the orders of the celestial hierarchy, as conceived by Agnostic Judaizers. . . . But when this is granted, two questions still remain. First—Are evil as well as good spirits included, demons as well as angels? And next, though the primary reference is to spiritual powers, is it not possible that the expression was intended to be comprehensive and to include earthly dignities as well? . . . Nor is there anything in the terms themselves which bars such an extension, for, as will be seen, the combination principalities and powers is applied not only to good angels but to bad, not only to spiritual powers but to earthly." He paraphrases as follows: "You dispute much about the successive grades of angels; you distinguish each grade by its special title; you can tell how each order was generated from the preceding; you assign to each its proper degree of worship. Meanwhile you have ignored or you have degraded Christ. I tell you, it is not so. He is first and foremost, Lord of heaven and earth, far above all thrones or dominions, all principalities or powers, far above every dignity and every potentate—whether angel, or demon, or man—that evokes your reverence or excites your fear."

The First Epistle General of Peter. By G. F. C. Frömmeler. (Lange Series.)

On Chapter 3:22, which declares that "Jesus is on the right hand of God, having gone into the heavens, angels and authorities and powers being made subject to him, he says:" "A former sufferer is now exalted to the highest dignity of heaven. . . . He has been received as sharer of the Divine government. He is not only King of His Church, but of the whole world."

IV. WORKS ON THEOLOGY.

i. **Systematic Theology.** By Charles Hodge, D.D. Scribners, New York.

In discussing the matter of "Obedience to Civil Magistrates," he says: "The whole theory of civil government and the duty of citizens to their rulers are comprehensively stated by the Apostle in Romans 13:1-5. From this it appears (1) that civil government is a Divine ordinance. It is not merely an optional human institution; something which men are free to have or not to have, as they see fit. It is not founded on any social compact; it is something which God commands; (2) it is included in the Apostle's doctrine, that magistrates derive their authority from God; they are his ministers; they represent Him. In a certain sense they represent the people, as they may be chosen by them to be the depositaries of this divinely delegated authority; but the powers that be are ordained by God; it is His will that they shall be, and that they should be clothed with authority." (Vol. III, p. 357.)

Popular Lectures on Theological Themes. By the Rev. A. A. Hodge, D.D., LL.D. Presbyterian Board of Publication, Philadelphia.

Lecture XII is on "The Kingly Office of Christ." The following extracts give only a faint idea of the magnificence of this lecture.

"Christ is already a King upon His throne in the full sweep of His kingly administration." The present mediatorial kingdom of the God-man is absolutely universal, embracing the whole universe and every department of it. The Kingdom of Christ therefore interpenetrates all the political commonwealths of this world, and all the political commonwealths of this world embrace the kingdom of Christ. It is very evident that it does not follow . . . that the State has nothing to do with religious laws or obligations. . . . As a matter of fact, every State in the world must have, and has had, a religion of some kind. . . . Every Christian must believe that the State ought to be obedient to the revealed law of Christ. This is so because—(1) the Word of God explicitly declares that 'the powers that be are ordained of God;' that 'rulers are ministers of God to us for good;' that 'whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God;' (2) because Christ himself explicitly declared that to Him as Mediator all power in heaven and on earth had been committed. He is thus made 'Lord of lords and King of kings; (3) because the Christian revelation expressed in the inspired Scriptures expresses the will of Christ upon many subjects in which it can be carried out only through the agency of the State and of her laws and officers. The State must pronounce her will as to the rest of the Sabbath day, as to marriage and divorce, as to the right of property and the relation of capital and labor, as to capital punishment, and as to the education of the young. The ground covered by these subjects the State cannot possibly avoid. And it is equally impossible for a Christian man, who knows the will of Christ as to the points in question, to ignore or disobey that will when acting in the capacity of a citizen of the State. If he does so, he is consciously guilty of direct disloyalty to his Lord. All intelligent and honest Christians must seek to bring all the actions of the political society to which they belong obedient to the revealed will of Christ the supreme King, the Ruler among the nations. The Church and State are mutually, entirely independent. The officers and the laws of the one have no jurisdiction within the sphere of the other. Nevertheless, Christ is the common King of each, and His Bible is the common statute-book of each. . . . I charge you, citizens of the United States, afloat on your wild sea of politics, THERE IS ANOTHER KING, ONE JESUS—THE SAFETY OF THE STATE CAN BE SECURED ONLY IN THE WAY OF HUMBLE AND WHOLE-SOULED LOYALTY TO HIS PERSON AND OF OBEDIENCE TO HIS LAW." (259-287.)

Theology of the Old Testament. By Dr. Gustav Friedrich Oehler. Funk and Wagnalls, New York.

"Moral good is not realized in individual life alone, but also in the various social spheres." "Not only domestic but political life, and well-ordered civil institutions, are regarded as component parts of moral good. All earthly authority is an emanation of the Divine wisdom. The view that kings and judges are the organs of the Divine government of the world, and the vice regents of the Supreme Ruler and Judge, and that as such they are appointed to administer justice. . . . forms the foundation of a whole series of proverbs. . . . The prosperity of a nation depends upon its possession of the word of God." (P. 553.)

Systematic Theology. By A. K. Strong, D.D., LL.D. The Griffith and Rowland Press, Philadelphia.

Dr. Strong, when presenting the Kingly Office of Christ, says: "This is to be distinguished from the sovereignty which Christ originally possessed in virtue of His Divine nature. Christ's kingship is the sovereignty of the Divine-human Redeemer, which belonged to Him of right from the moment of His birth, but which was fully exercised only from the time of His entrance upon the state of exaltation. By virtue of this kingly office, Christ rules over all things in heaven and earth, for the glory of God and the execution of God's purpose of salvation. With respect to the universe at large, Christ's kingdom is a kingdom of power; He upholds, governs, and judges the world." (Vol. II, p. 775.)

Christian Theology. By Milton Valentine, D.D., LL.D. Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia.

The saving work of Christ as King is quite fully presented in this treatise. In setting forth the relation between Christ's Kingly Sovereignty and the State or civil government, he says: "As the scope of this Kingly Sovereignty is far wider than the Church, the question of relation between it and the State is quite a different question from that between the *State* and the Church. There may be independence as between the Church and State, but not of the State with respect to Christ's Kingly dominion. A few truths will make this evident.

(a) The State as truly as the Church is a Divine institution, and its legitimate officers are "God's ministers" (Rom. 13:1-6). This is the Christian view of civil government—Divine as truly as the family, a thing made necessary in the nature of man and society, a necessity framed by God in the order of life. . . . Anarchy is not a privilege of the race.

(b) Christ, as Mediator, is King of kings and Lord of lords, and to His authority every knee is to bow, "of things in heaven and things in earth" (Phil. 2:10; Eph. 1:21-22; I Cor. 25:25). Civil governments in any and every form, are no more exempted in their special spheres from recognition of and respect for God's authority, plan, order or laws—no more entitled to a divorce from obedience—than any other activity of man. There is no secularity beneath the stars that is absolved from harmonizing its action with the sovereignty and laws of God, carried on in the mediatorial dominion of Jesus Christ."

(c) Every nation should explicitly and practically, in its own sphere and function, acknowledge the Christ of God as the Supreme Ruler of the earth, and His will as the supreme law to which governmental action should always be conformed. Otherwise there is the contradiction of a divine institution in revolt against God. If the civil governments of the earth, the most prominent, representative feature of human life, the rulership of the world, peculiarly determinative of the life and character of the nation, is to be held as excused from all recognition of, or practical respect for, the Divine order, how is the harmonizing of all things with that order, and the bringing of the world to righteousness and peace ever to be accomplished? The blight of many nations is that the secular power is not Christianized enough to harmonize with the ideal of the kingdoms of this world as having really become 'kingdoms of the Lord and His Christ.'

(d) All civil officers should be men who recognize Christ's authority and who conform themselves to it as supreme in all the relations of human life." (Vol. II, pp. 181-183.)

V. WORKS SETTING FORTH THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE NATION AND RELIGION.

The United States a Christian Nation. By David J. Brewer, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia.

The first chapter begins thus: "We classify nations in various ways, as, for instance, by their form of government. One is a kingdom, another an empire, and still another a republic. Also by race. Great Britain is an Anglo-Saxon nation, France a Gallic, Germany a Teutonic, Russia a Slav. And still again by religion. One is a Mohammedan nation, others are heathen, and still others are Christian nations.

This republic is classified among the Christian nations of the world. It was so formally declared by the Supreme Court of the United States. In the case of *Holy Trinity Church vs. United States*, 143 U. S. 471, that court, after mentioning various circumstances, added, 'these and many other matters that might be noticed, add a volume of unofficial declarations to the mass of organic utterances that this is a Christian nation.'

But in what sense can it be called a Christian nation? Not in the sense that Christianity is the established religion or that the people are in any manner compelled to support it. On the contrary, the Constitution specifically provides that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' Neither is it Christian in the sense that all its citizens are, either in fact or name Christians. On the contrary, all religions have free scope within our borders. Numbers of our people profess other religions, and many reject all. Nor is it Christian in the sense that a profession of Christianity is a condition of holding office or otherwise engaging in the public service, or essential to recognition either politically or socially. In fact, the government as a legal organization is independent of all religions.

Nevertheless we constantly speak of this republic as a Christian nation—in fact, as the leading Christian nation of the world. This popular use of the term certainly has significance. It is not a mere creation of the imagination. It is not a term of derision but has a substantial basis—one which justifies its use. Let us analyze a little and see what is the basis.

Its use has had from the early settlements on our shores and still has an official foundation."

(This is followed by a number of quotations from the commission given to Columbus by Ferdinand and Isabelle, the Colonial charters, the original compacts of government, State constitutions, decisions of courts, etc., in which the Christian character and purpose of the makers of the American nation is clearly set forth.)

Religion and Civil Government in the United States. By Isaac A. Cornelison. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

After expressing approval of the separation of Church and State in this country, Mr. Cornelison says: "The question still remains, however, whether a State, without a Church, is also without a religion." The question of the union of Church and State, not being of any practical interest in this country, he does not propose to discuss. The discussion

is confined exclusively to the former question. He then gives lengthy quotations from charters, compacts of government, State constitutions, judicial decisions, etc., to show that there is an actual connection of the Nation with religion. He maintains that the Christian amendment of the National Constitution is unnecessary and that it cannot be shown that the omission of all recognition of God or of Christ from the National Constitution was done to make the government atheistic.

Our National Obligation. By an Attorney at Law. Western Tract and Book Society. A Premium Essay which won the prize of a Hundred Dollars offered in 1873 for the best Essay on the Religious Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

In eighteen short chapters the author maintains a series of propositions by which he leads us step by step to his conclusion. The most important of these propositions are the following: "All civil government must, in the nature of things, have had a divine origin." (P. 17.) "In the nature of things a moral obligation attaches inseparably to the exercise of civil authority." (P. 27.) "As a matter of fact, there has always existed among men, to a greater or lesser degree, a general recognition of a national moral obligation." (P. 33.) "During the period of the Mosaic economy, God claimed and exercised universal sovereignty over the nations of the earth." (P. 58.) "The Old Testament prophecies represent Christ as receiving this universal sovereignty, both over individuals and nations, by the appointment of God the Father." (P. 70.) "Herein the New Testament teachings concur with the prophecies of the Old Testament." (P. 82.) "The Divine Ruler demands an explicit acknowledgment on the part of all his subjects." (P. 134.) "There is an official acknowledgment of the Divine sovereignty running through our entire national history, although it is still defective in one essential particular." (P. 140.) "The requisite acknowledgment of Christ's kingly jurisdiction over us ought to be embodied in our national constitution." (P. 152.)

Christian Life and Character of the Civil Institutions of the United States. By B. F. Morris. Geo. W. Childs, Philadelphia.

The author, in our judgment, claims too much for the Christian character of our nation and government. The book, however, contains much valuable material. He declares that "This is a Christian nation, first, in name; and secondly, because of the many mighty elements of pure Christianity which have given it character." (P. 11.)

An Inquiry into the Moral and Religious Characters of the American Government. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1838.

This book was published without the name of the author, but from information gained from surviving representatives of the publishers it is believed the writer was a Judge Warner. It is a thin volume of a little more than two hundred large octavo pages. It is marked by great logical power, singular felicity of diction and a fervent religious spirit. The author's concern had been awakened by an attempt made in both the New York and Connecticut legislatures to abolish the custom of appointing chaplains who should offer prayer regularly during the sessions and by the thoroughly irreligious report in Congress on certain petition which had been presented for the discontinuance of the national mail service on the Lord's Day. He reviews the provisions relating to religion in the Federal constitution to show that they do not necessarily impose on the nation an irreligious character. He reviews the

original State Constitution, and the course of State and national legislation, to prove the Christian purpose of the founders of the nation, and concludes the treatise with these words:

"God preserves us; we must go back; we must reform our political administrations on the point of their moral principles. . . . We must retrace our steps, retrieve our errors, regain the position we have lost. Let us dig up the burned standard of the fathers and fashion ourselves anew by it; let us return to the primary spirit of the government ere the doom of the nations that forget God become our own."

VI. MODERN MISSIONARY LITERATURE.

This very large and rapidly growing department of literature deserves much fuller notice than can here be given it. The great enterprise of modern missions has been compelled to study the relation of government to religion. It stands face to face with the ruin wrought by sin in national life, as in every other department of human life, and it cannot but ask whether the salvation wrought by Christ meets this as it meets other human needs. And the answer of missionary leaders and workers the world over is singularly unanimous. The dream of secularism that a nation can live a safe and beneficent life apart from God and from Jesus Christ is not the idea of the missionary forces. We could fill pages with quotations in proof of this statement, but content ourselves with a few extracts from two books by two of the most eminent missionary leaders of today.

Christian Missions and Social Progress. A Social Study of Foreign Missions. By the Rev. James S. Dennis. Two volumes. Fleming M. Revell Company, New York and Chicago.

This great work consists of two series of lectures delivered at Princeton in 1893 and 1896. The purpose of the author is plainly indicated by the title of the work. A few extracts will show in some measure the line or argument followed. These extracts are all from Vol. I, p. 61.

"Christian missions, according to every fair and proper criterion, have long since fully vindicated their claim to be ranked as a religious force in the world. Are they also a humanizing ministry? They touch and transform individual lives. Do they also reach and influence society as a whole? . . . We know that they teach a new religion of the heart. Do they also advocate and seek to establish a more refined moral code for the domestic, social, commercial, philanthropic, and even national life of mankind? (P. 23.) "It cannot be said that this is indeed a new conception of their import when we consider the historic relation of Christianity to human progress; yet it comes to many of us with a certain freshness, simply because its identification with the scope and purpose of modern missions has been allowed to lapse to an unwarrantable extent." (P. 24.) "The study of the social evils of the non-Christian world has emphasized the necessity for an adequate remedy. Here we deal with a vital point in our discussion. If a remedy is needed, then it is essential that it be the right one. We must scrutinize with care all proposals intended to provide relief and guarantee improvement." (P. 355.) "Education alone, apart from Christianity, will not accomplish it. It is not in itself a moral force. In fact, if it is out of touch entirely with Christianity, it often becomes a powerful weapon of evil and may be subsidized in violent hostility to the higher welfare of society." (P. 357.) "The mere introducing of these Asiatic empires into the sisterhood of nations, still less the introduction of western facilities and inventions, or the exchange of Oriental for Occidental com-

modities, will not touch the real seat of the trouble." (P. 365.) "Is civilization divorced from Christianity a panacea in Africa? In the case of the Kaffirs, one of the most promising of the South African races, it has been made manifest that the adoption of so-called civilization without Christianity has produced the most lamentable results, while the acceptance of Christianity has invariably opened up to them a bright and progressive career." (P. 366.) "We have heard much of what has been called the 'Gospel of Commerce,' . . . but, taking the world as it is, commerce may be simply a school of fraud deceit, and selfishness. It may illustrate the worst aspects of unscrupulous greed and grievously misrepresent the moral force in social life. . . . Christianity brings new energies, new ideals, and new hopes, true-hearted, and pure—is the ultimate solution of social evils and the sure promise of a redeemed society, fashioned at last into the likeness of Christ." (Pp. 163, 164.)

Christianity and the Nations. By Robert E. Speer. Fleming H. Revell Company. 1910.

In the fourth chapters of this book, entitled "Missions and Politics," Mr. Speer says:

"As light breaks on the difficult problems of Church and State at home, and our governments become in a deeper and more real sense Christian, they will express their Christian character to other nations. If our governments are purely secular, of course they can have none but a secular message to utter; but if, as we believe, they are meant to be in a noble sense religious and Christian, then their Christian character will find utterance as the Christian character of John Lawrence's government did in the Punjab."

VII. WORKS TREATING OF PUBLIC EDUCATION.

The Bible in the Public Schools. Arguments in the case of John D. Minor and others vs. the Board of Education of the City of Cincinnati. Robert T. Clark and Co., Cincinnati.

The addresses by the attorneys in support of the use of the Bible in the Schools of Cincinnati are very valuable as setting forth the need the State has of religion. Only one or two extracts need be given. In the course of his argument George R. Sage said: "Religion is recognized by the constitution itself as the bond of society, the basis on which our institutions rest, and essential to good government and the safety of the State." (P. 155.)

The Superior Court of Cincinnati, before which the case was tried, rendered its decision in favor of the use of the Bible. Judge Hagans, in announcing this decision said: "We shall find that religion of some sort was always a necessary adjunct of the State, furnishing both bonds and sanctions, as the pledges of its safety and perpetuity." (P. 362.)

Moral Education. By E. H. Griggs. B. W. Huebsch, New York.

"To appreciate the literature, sculpture, painting, action, and, indeed, all expressions of life during these Christian centuries, a knowledge of the basal sources of the Christian religion is essential. Consider, for instance, how necessary a knowledge of the Bible is to the appreciation of half the paintings in any European gallery. As the Bible is the great text-book of Christianity, so it is the source from which much of our civilization can be explained." (P. 281.)

Moral Training in the Public Schools. The California Prize Essays. By C. E. Rugh, T. P. Stevenson, E. D. Starbuck, Frank Cramer and George E. Meyers.

A single quotation will be given, and this from the essay by Dr. Stevenson: "The secular program of education does not meet the needs of the nation. The nation needs a law-abiding citizenship, a people who will yield obedience to the laws, not merely as a matter of compulsion or to avoid their penalties, but for conscience' sake. To prepare for such obedience the citizen must not only know the law, but must know and approve the reasons which underlie the law. But the main reason which underlies many of our laws is a religious reason; for example, our laws against blasphemy and perjury are based on reverence due to the name of God." (P. 71.)

Moral Instruction and Training in Schools. Report of an International Inquiry. Two volumes. Edited on behalf of the committee by M. E. Sadler. Longmans, Green and Company, London and New York. 1908.

The Introduction states that "The influence of education upon conduct and character is the subject discussed in this book." Its chapters are the outcome of an inquiry undertaken with the purpose of gathering information as to the methods of moral instruction and training now in use in schools in different countries." (P. 13.)

Chapter 7 takes up "the Religious foundation of Moral instruction," and declares it to be the consensus of opinion of leading educators in the world today that moral instruction cannot be severed from religion. It is stated that if the investigation had been made a generation ago the verdict would doubtless have been different, but that now, "The general result of new currents of thought and feeling has been to give a fresh stimulus to the belief in the unseen in all its forms, which is the essence of religion and more particularly to the conviction that ethical and social ideas must fail of their full power over the heart and will unless they are connected with this fundamental belief." (Vol. I, p. 68.)

Of education in the United States it is said that its chief end is "to prepare our children for good citizenship. It is denied that our public schools are 'Godless,' but that their chief aim is to develop noble manhood and womanhood. (Vol. II, pp. 258, 258.)

Education in Religion and Morals. By George Albert Coe, Ph.D. Fleming H. Revell, Company, Chicago, New York and Toronto. (1904.)

In the Preface the author points out the importance of the moral and religious training of the young if we are to secure the moral health of society. He then takes up the theory of education, next the child, and next the institutions by which the child is to be educated. These he enumerates thus:

"The family, the Sunday School, Societies and Clubs, Christian Academies and Colleges, and State Schools."

In the discussion of the last topic he says: "That State schools should make good citizens, and that good citizenship depends upon good character, all are agreed. As to the relation of State schools to religion, there is confusion in both theory and practice. In all this confusion, however, the central issue concerns the kind of life that we wish the children to grow into. The contradiction between the religion and the secularist view of life is fundamental and irreconcilable. In our schools. . . . we must simply choose between the two views. Religion or irreligion is present in the schools just as surely as teachers are present. The notion that the

State school can be strictly neutral with respect to the great problem of life and destiny is simply illusory. It is incumbent upon us to take one side or the other. This does not necessarily imply instruction in dogma." (Pp. 348, 358.)

The Philosophy of Education. By Herman Harrell Horne. The Macmillan Company, New York. (1907.)

The writer speaks in strong terms of the necessity of Bible knowledge and says that

"Public opinion today is strong, but not unanimous, in supporting the reading of the Bible, without note or comment, in our public schools." (P. 126.)

VIII. CHRISTIAN ETHICS.

Social Ethics. By James Melville Coleman. The Baker and Taylor Company, New York.

The steps in the delegation of authority and the general rules governing the use of authority are as follows: God delegates authority to Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ delegates authority to the Organic People (the State); the State delegates authority to the government; the government delegates authority to officials, municipalities and corporations. With every delegation of authority a law is prescribed to govern its exercise; when authority is received, recognition should be made of the obligation of the agency conferring the authority; in the recognition of authority no intermediate agencies should be passed over.

In the administration of political authority these rules are applied with the exception that "At one particular point is failure to be noted, when the State refuses to confess the dependence of the social will upon the will of Jesus Christ, and thus interfere with the cosmic philosophy of the divine plan."

A System of Moral Science. By Laurens P. Hickok, D.D., LL.D. Revised with the co-operation of Julius H. Seelye, D.D., LL.D. Ginn, Heath and Company, Boston.

Almost a hundred pages of this work are given to the discussion of civil government. The author says that "The State is in no sense a human product; though found wherever man is found, man no more makes the State than he makes himself." "The theory of a voluntary compact is a mere figment. . . . No State ever thus originated." (P. 112, 113.) "While government is a necessity for the State, and may righteously enforce its enactments, it by no means follows that every government is necessary or righteous. We are not bound to obey because some have assumed to command, nor because they have acquired power to crush resistance. This power may still be usurpation and tyranny. On the other hand, authority may constrain conscience as a duty without the application of its power. Even when the rightness of the precept is not at all apprehended, the naked will of sovereignty is enough to fix obligation, but it must be sovereignty standing on right authority. This is where the principles of moral science reach to the very foundation of all civil government." (P. 121.) The State "may not legislate in violation of pure morality. . . . When civil authority attempts to break over the barriers of moral right, and command anything which it would be unworthy of man to perform, it nullifies its own authority by running against the ultimate test of all authority, and can only provoke contempt and universal Divine authority. . . . God is the rightful sovereign of all sovereignties, 'the King of kings and the Lord of lords.'" (P. 127.)

A Handbook of Christian Ethics. By J. Clark Murray, LL.D., McGill University, Montreal. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.

The State with the legal code by which it is realized, is, in a very real sense, a divine institution. It forms an organized embodiment of the highest revelation of God, that a nation has been able to attain in its national life. Accordingly it becomes one of the primary obligations of the individual to the State to work for the improvement of its legal code."

System of Christian Ethics. By A. Dorner. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.

The idea of right is central in the State and involves its divine origin. Justice necessitates a Christian State. "The principle of the State is the idea of right. For the idea of right establishes the divine origin of the State, and excludes that theory of it according to which it is based originally upon contract. And in the idea of right we have the inward bond that connects the State with religion. For among the various religions it is the Christian alone that, by its history, has given the State a safe guarantee that it will exercise a blessed influence on its citizens." (Pp. 558, 559, 580.)

Christian Ethics. By D. G. Gregory, D.D., LL.D.

In treating of the State, Dr. Gregory ably maintains its divine origin, moral character and subordination to Divine law.

Christian Ethics (Social). By H. Martensen. T. & T. Clark Company

The relation between the institution of the State by God and its constitution by man is admirably expressed. "Christianity has prescribed no definite form of constitution, from which fact, however, it must not be inferred that it regards this as a matter of indifference. It has expressly taught us only that the State is a divine ordinance, and that the source of plenipotence or sovereignty must be sought in God. The State, although certainly to be regarded as a human, is nevertheless in its inmost nature a divine institution, invested by God with the highest earthly power; and rulers are the organs for exercising this power, a fact which does not however, exclude the co-operation of the people." (Pages 183-185.)

IX. SOCIOLOGY AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

Principles of Social Science. By H. C. Carey. In three volumes. J. B. Lippincott Company.

"Nations can permanently prosper only as they obey the golden rule of Christianity; and when they fail to do so, Nemesis never fails to claim her rights." (Vol. I, p. 422.)

Social Aspects of Religious Institutions. By Edwin L. Earp. Eaton and Mains, New York.

The author in the outset declares that "The Christian religion has pre-eminently a social aim. (P. 4.) He says further: "The need for religious social organization must be considered from the viewpoint of a world problem which Christianity hopes to solve. The ideals of religion which have in view the world-wide kingdom of redeemed humanity can never be realized so long as there are great nations representing different

civilizations that are backed by military power and economic and industrial efficiency without the Christian ideal." (Pp. 29, 30.)

Social Facts and Forces. By Washington Gladden. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

In this work Dr. Gladden deals with the various social problems of the day with a view to discover how the well-being of the people is affected by the changes taking place in industrial life. In speaking of the sphere of the State he asks: "Has society provided itself with no means of realizing this unity which is the very condition of its existence?" He says that "the State, we might think is such an agency," and he adds: "I am disposed to believe that the State, *if rightly conceived and administered*, would perform this service. The State, in the true conception of it, is the union of all for the common good." But he deprecates the fact that the State is viewed generally as a police power and nothing more, "and it accentuates the antagonisms rather than the unities of society." Let me say again that this conception of the chief function of the State is a wholly erroneous conception that the State is something higher and more God-like than this, and that if we could only invest it in our thoughts with its true divine character, we should need no other agency for the unification of society." (P. 201-203.)

Social Solutions in the Light of Christian Ethics. By Thomas C. Hall. Eaton and Mains, New York; Jennings and Graham, Cincinnati.

This work is designed to throw light on the social message of Jesus Christ. In speaking of the sphere of civil government and the obedience it may rightly claim, he says, "Government can claim our respect and loyalty only in so far as its agents are 'ministers of God's' Divine order. We must confess that neither America, England, nor Germany, nor any existing government, is really Christ's kingdom. All are built upon force. In none of them is God's will done as in heaven. In all of them intemperance, prostitution, violence, and corruption mark the character of the social order, even if in less degree than in ancient Rome. The teachings of Jesus today are still revolutionary. We could not make Matthew's constitution of the kingdom of heaven (Sermon on the Mount) the statute law of the United States without an entire change in our government, both in its purpose and machinery. All State complicity in intemperance, prostitution and violence must cease. . . . The government must become the expression of God's love, shed abroad in our streets, market places, and places of amusement." (Pp. 23-25.) "The moralization and not the abolishment of government, is the goal." (P. 153.)

The Political and Social Significance of the Life and Teaching of Jesus. By Jeremiah W. Jenks. Young Men's Christian Association-Press, New York

The author says: "The best government is that which best serves the people. . . . Through no revolutionary process, no arrogant assumption of control by any one person believing himself to have exclusive insight into God's plans for progress, through no merely selfish struggle for rights, in which duties to society are forgotten, but by slow growth to purer forms of political action as the life of the nation comes into higher, nobler phases, will government reflect the Christianity of its people and grow ever better as individual faith stirs to eternal vigilance." (P. 69.)

The Church and Her Prophets. By E. D. Marvin. Broadway Publishing Company, New York.

"Gradually reformers are coming to a deep conviction that there is no force that can efficiently regenerate human nature and make men morally

great, save that which is manifest by the presence of Christ in the life; and that He, and He alone, is the divinely appointed leader in social, commercial and political improvements." (Pp. 42, 43.)

Jesus Christ and the Social Question. By Prof. F. G. Peabody. Grosset and Dunlap, New York.

Because the state with its government is often in the hands of a class who wield its powers in behalf of their own selfish interests, there are many who think that it ought to be abolished, or at least so transformed as to change completely its purpose and activities. Professor Peabody puts the question in this form as coming from the discontented class. "Is not the institution of the state, in its present form, a mere instrument of the privileged class, and must it not be supplanted by a co-operative commonwealth of collective ownership?" In discussing the attitude of Jesus toward the social question he says: "There was political oppression about him to be remedied; there were social uprightness and iniquity to be condemned; but Jesus does not fling himself into these social issues of his time. He moves through them with a strange tranquility, not as one who is indifferent to them, but as one whose eye is fixed on an end in which these social problems will find their own solution." Professor Peabody compares the social teachings of Jesus to the by-product of applied science. In this he is undoubtedly wrong, since the kingdom was the great end for which he labored and suffered.

Christianity and the Social Crisis. By Walter Rauschenbusch. The Macmillan Company, New York.

In the introduction to this work the author says that "Western civilization is passing through a social revolution unparalleled in history for scope and power." In speaking of the sphere of the State and what may be done through political agencies in the solution of our vexatious social problems he says: "The State is the organization through which men co-operate for the larger social ends. If men conceived of political duties as a high religious service to man and to God, the State can be a powerful agent in the bettering of human life." "Ideally, the State is the organization of the people for their larger common interests. Actually, all States have been organizations of some section of the people to protect their special interests against the rest. Ideally, the chief function of the State should be the maintenance of justice. Actually the chief function of the State has been the maintenance of existing conditions, whatever they happen to be." "Nothing better could happen to any State than to have within it a Church devoted, not to its own corporate interests, but to the moral welfare of humanity, and nudging the reluctant State along like an enlightened pedagogue." (Pp. 183-187.)

God and Government, or Christ Our King in Civic and Social Righteousness. By J. Martin Rohde. Eaton and Maines, New York.

This book is highly commended by the late Bishop McCabe, and by the Hon. A. C. Matthews, ex-Speaker of the House of Representatives of Illinois, and former Comptroller of the United States Treasury.

In the first chapter the author says: "Individual Christianity and State atheism are two things so entirely at variance with each other that both cannot consistently be component parts of one and the same character. The true Christian faith is largely and necessarily a theocratic faith, a faith which acknowledges divine rulership in all national affairs." (P. 15.) "Our Republic should seek to be an ideal Christian nation by recognizing the importance and the pre-eminence of Gospel precepts and principles in public affairs and in national life. Indeed, inasmuch as it is evident that all King Immanuel's providential dispensations are in harmony with human

happiness and well-being, all nations should acknowledge his sovereignty and endeavor to be accounted worthy in the Lord's great day to join God's mighty host in the great thundering chorus of eternity. 'Hallelujah, the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.'"

Mr. Rohde does not think the acknowledging of Christ formally in the national constitution is absolutely necessary to make the nation Christian, but he holds that it would be a proper act of reverence. He says: "While it is certainly true that a literal recognition of Christ as the head of the nation and a formal declaration of his gospel as the fundamental teaching on which all legislation should be based would not be out of place and could do no harm, . . . yet it must be conceded that such a mere form of words alone have little or no significance or influence in Christianizing our people." (P. 34.)

"But regardless of such a verbiage of our national code the doctrine of the divine origin and authority of the State cannot be denied and must, by all means, be maintained. Plutarch has well said: 'There has never been a State of atheists. You may travel over the world; you may find cities without walls, without a king, without a mint, without theaters or gymnasiums; but you will never find a city without a god, without prayer, without oracles, without sacrifice. Sooner may a city stand without foundations than a State without belief in the gods. This is the bond of all society, the pillar of all legislation.' Thus a significant religious impulse recognizing a higher power in all law and authority wonderfully pervades all mankind." (P. 35.)

"The clearest and strongest minds, from Plato to Paul and from Paul to the sages of the present day, have believed and declared that God is the author and source of all law and authority.

"Confirming this unanimity of opinion, we have the inspired declaration, "There is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God."

"Therefore, in all government, whether the forms of administration be autocratic, monarchical, or democratic, we should recognize the authority of the one Great Unseen Lawgiver by whom kings rule and princes decree justice." (P. 36.)

The Social Application of Religion. By Charles Stelzle, Jane Addams, Charles P. Neill, Graham Taylor and George P. Eckman. Jennings and Graham, Cincinnati.

Herbert Welch, in the Introduction to this work says: "In Jesus Christ is the hope of society, as well as of individuals. Those who worship Him and those who serve Him should be at one to put Him on the world's throne." (P. 7.) Mr. Stelzle, in discussing the Spirit of Social Unrest, says: "We must socialize our teaching and socially convert our (Church) membership. There is many an honest Church member who has been converted spiritually but who has never caught the social vision. He has never been converted socially. There is a great difference between the two. There are many professing Christians who believe they are keeping the first great commandment, but who are altogether ignoring the second, which Christ said was like unto the first." (P. 34.)

Christian Sociology. By J. H. W. Stuckenberg, Professor in the Theological Department of Wittenberg College. Funk and Wagnalls Company.

This work is designed to show the Origin Character and Relations of the Christian Society formed by Jesus Christ. In setting forth the obligations resting upon Christians toward the world much practical truth is given. A few quotations only can here be presented. In speaking of the character and work of Jesus he says: "Jesus was not a politician, and he gives neither specific rules in his teachings, nor illustrations for all the duties of the statesman; but the principles of government and the basis of all statesmanship are given by Christ, so that from the Gospel a system of Christian politics may be constructed." (P. 90.)

In speaking more specifically of the mission of the Christian Society,

he says: "Christian Society aims at the redemption of man and of the world from the thralldom of sin and from the dominion of evil." (P. 186.)

On the question of Religion and the State he speaks as follows: "The relation of the Church to the State is not a burning question in America, as it is in Europe, since we have no union of Church and State. In the United States the question could hardly have arisen, whether the Church would ever be absorbed by the State. But the relation of religion and of Christian society to the State is a vital question for America, as well as for Europe, and it is a subject which is exciting more attention than formerly. While some are working to secure the recognition of God in the Constitution of the United States, others are working to prevent the appointment of chaplains, the recognition of Sunday, and everything else that savors of religion, by our government.

"Christianity is a spiritual power, which tries to establish and perpetuate itself by spiritual means, and by earthly instrumentalities so far as they are right and promote divine truth. In the State Christian Society can demand protection in the exercise of its rights. But it has no right to interfere with the liberty of others, and to demand that they shall give up their religious views. Coercion in spiritual matters is totally at variance with the spirit of the Christian religion. The laws may protect Christian society in its religious exercises; but they cannot be properly used to coerce men to become Christians. Even the recognition of God in the Constitution seems mockery, so long as he is not recognized by the people in their hearts. To say that we, the people of the United States, recognize Almighty God, when it is patent to every one that we do not, is a glaring falsehood. It is better to work for the recognition of God in the heart of the nation, so as to bring the people up to the point that we can say with truth in the Constitution that we recognize him.

"This suggests a radical evil which Christian society is called to remove—namely, the tendency to make hobbies of mere words and externals, instead of working to promote deep and vital heart-religion. It is the mission of this Society to christianize the State, not to secure an empty recognition of religion. The government is to be made more and more a real theocracy; but this can only be done by making the truth of God supreme in the hearts of men. When this is done, then everything else will follow."

"If laws are enacted which are in conflict with the believer's conscience, then he must submit to the punishment for violating the laws, rather than violate his conscience. No effort should then be spared to remove such laws. Indeed, Christian society may do the State good service in the efforts to secure such laws, and such only, as are right and will prove a blessing to the community. Even if there can be no direct religious legislation, the moral standard of the Gospel may be made the ideal of the State. A Christian spirit should pervade the laws, instead of the atheistic spirit which some would infuse into them." (Pp. 193-195.)

NOTE.—Dr. Stuckenberg does not oppose the proposition to acknowledge God in the National Constitution, but only the making of such an acknowledgment hypocritically. The National Reform Association can adopt as its own every word in the above quotations.

X. MISCELLANEOUS.

Christian Theology and Social Progress. By F. W. Bussell. E. P. Dutton and Company, New York.

Democracy is shown to have received much from Christianity. "It may, perhaps, seem needless to lay further emphasis on the peculiar debt of

certain modern political ideals to Christianity. While in their strictest sense Christianity and Socialism are irreconcilable, the vague yet potent connotations of the term 'democracy' are inseparable from Christian belief, and if divorced from this vital union, fall at once to the ground. We must choose between the rival merits of the scientific and antique, the religious and personal view; between the conception suggested by Machiavelli and Hobbes and followed more or less openly by modern statecraft, and a conception based on Christian principles reinforced by Roman civil law, maintained with unabated pretensions through the Middle Ages, revived against authority by Luther for a brief space, and once more proposed by Rousseau and the genuine 'liberalism' he called into being." (Pp. 324, 328.)

The Kingdom of God. By James S. Candlish, D.D. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.

The author considers the Kingdom of God both Biblically and historically. In stating the purpose of Jesus Christ in coming into the world he says that "Jesus' ideal was a social one; his aim is not merely to elevate and sanctify individuals, but to unite them into a community, to reneate society, and, indeed, ultimately humanity itself. This is indicated by the name Kingdom of God, and is proved by all the considerations that show that the name is not a mere figure of speech, but the appropriate designation of a great reality. The notion of the Kingdom of God in the sense of Jesus is wide enough to include all the relations of life, and the promotion of it is an adequate expression of the task of the Christian life." (P. 205.)

The World the Subject of Redemption. By Canon W. H. Freemantle. Longmans, Green and Company, New York.

This work is a series of lectures delivered before the University of Oxford. They are based on John 5:17: "God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world, through him, might be saved." In the opening of the first lecture he raises the question, "What is the world which Christ came to save? . . . We mean by the world the organized constitution of things in which we live, including the material universe so far as we apprehend it, but chiefly humanity, which (taking the world as known to us), is its crown." (P. 4.)

"The Nation . . . differs from all voluntary associations, even from that of public worship, in that it is more distinctly an ordinance of God. . . . We may worship alone, or in small societies, or in informal gatherings. Even of family life we may in a great measure denude ourselves. But we cannot help belonging to the nation, and that for our whole life, and with all that we have. It is sometimes assumed that the organization for worship is divine, and the family and State, as it is said, merely human. But the contrary is the case. The organization for worship is distinctly and demonstrably a formation of man; the family and the State are institutions of nature and of God." (P. 320.)

The Gospel for the Secular Life. By F. W. Freemantle.

In this series of sermons preached by Canon Freemantle at Oxford, he takes the ground that the sphere of gospel influence is the whole life of man. The second sermon in the series is entitled "Religion without a Temple." In it he declares that "The nation and all classes in it should act upon Christian principle, that laws should be made in Christ's spirit of justice, that the relations of the power of the State should be maintained on a basis of Christian equity, that all public acts should be done in Christ's spirit." (P. 75.)

The third discourse is entitled "The Supremacy of Christ." After showing that he must be recognized as supreme in Education, in Trade, in Literature, in Art, in Science, he comes finally to the sphere of Politics, and maintains that this sphere is not excluded. He says: "It is believed by many that the sphere of politics can be dis severed from that of religion

and this has been made the ground of theories which, whether they come from the clerical or the secular side, are equally godless. It cannot be that the public life, the natural home of justice, should be separated from God, whose very nature is righteousness." (Pp. 109-110.)

The State in Its Relation With the Church. By W. E. Gladstone, Esq. Two volumes. John Murray, London.

While Mr. Gladstone writes primarily from the point of view of an established religion, his words apply equally well to the general relation of States to religion. "I return, then, to the position that, as the nation fulfills the great conditions of a person, a real unity of being, of deliberating, of acting, of suffering; and these in a definite manner, and upon an extended scale, and with immense moral functions to discharge, and influences to exercise, both upon its members and extrinsically; therefore it has that kind of clear, large and conscious responsibility which can alone be met by its specifically professing a religion, and offering through its organ, the State, that worship which shall publically sanctify its acts. That which, by its governing organ, it professes specially, it must encourage and maintain throughout its inferior members as a part of such profession itself." (Vol. I, p. 105.)

Divine Aspects of Human Society. By F. D. Huntington, D.D.

This volume consists of a series of lectures delivered before the Brooklyn Institute. The first is entitled, "Society a Divine appointment." Bishop Huntington says: "Let us not hesitate, then, to plant our feet firmly, even by definition, on the broad position that Society is a Divine Appointment. The Former, who made us, made us to be social. In the original plan of his constitution, man was not meant to live alone. Though it were possible for every individual of the species to reach the perfection of his private nature in a solitary state,—which it is not,—still the purpose of God in His creation would not be answered." (P. 11.)

"The great whole that we call Society has been arranged by the Creator in a system of concentric circles. The first and smallest social type is the family. Its primary constituents are a man and a woman,—then parents and children,—sometimes including in a complete patriarchate, all the descendants of the living progenitor. The second and next larger is the Tribe, a group of families. The third is the State, varying greatly in extent, sometimes comprised in a single city, like the State of Athens, which with all its splendor, power and fame, contained only four hundred thousand inhabitants. . . . Fourth is the Nation, a larger collection determined by a common origin, a common language, and contiguous lands, often including several political organizations; as Athens, Sparta, Thebes, were all included in the Greek or Hellenic nation. Fifth, and last, is the Empire, a mightier power, a cluster of nations, a ganglion of cities and provinces." "It is not a single solar system, but many,—the whole also heliocentric,—God the central and supreme Sun of all, not only an attracting Law, not only an irradiating Light, but a conscious Spirit of Life and a Personal Protector. Toward each of these groups He has a character and a name,—Father of the *families* of the earth, Leader of the *tribes*, Lord of the *states*, King of the *nations*, Sovereign of the *empires*. (Pp. 35, 36.)

"The social constitution of man, and the revelation of Christ, are the two correlated, complementary forces which bear forward the progress of the world. Together they prepare that renewed, just, free, merciful and holy society which the New Testament repeatedly characterizes as the kingdom of heaven on earth. . . . It follows that when the great truths of Christianity shall have become embodied in the actual forms of government, education, trade, art, letters, mercy, manners and worship, and shall have controlled Society by their living power, then the kingdom of Christ will have come." (P. 272.)

"Reform without Christianity is wild, bitter, barren, and soon reactionary and retrogressive. Christianity without reform is a corruption and a falsehood." (P. 297.)

The Spirit of Laws. By M. De Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu. Royal Exchange, Edinburgh.

The bearing of religion upon princes and government in general is touched on. "A prince who loves and fears religion, is a lion, who stoops to the hand that strokes or to the voice that appeases him. He who fears and hates religion is like the savage beast that growls and bites the chain which prevents his flying on the passenger. He who has no religion at all is that terrible animal who perceives his liberty only when he tears in pieces and when he devours. "The Christian religion is a stranger to mere despotic power. The mildness so frequently recommend in the gospel, is incompatible with the despotic rage with which a prince punishes his subjects, and exercises himself in cruelty." (Vol. II, pp. 119, 120.)

Divine Order of Human Society. By R. E. Thompson, S. T. D. John D. Wattles, Philadelphia.

A modern interpretation of Theocracy as opposed to secularism on the one hand and ecclesiasticism on the other is given. "A theocratic nation is neither more nor less than one which acknowledges God as its supreme Ruler, regards His will as the highest standard of national conscience, and sees in Him a King as real as any of any earthly dynasty. It recognizes all national authority as delegated by Him. It holds His law revealed in the written Word and in the human conscience to be a higher law to which the wronged and oppressed may always appeal." (P. 105.)

The Collected Writings of James Henley Thornwell, D.D., LL.D. Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Richmond, Va.

In a sermon on National Sins, Dr. Thornwell says that the State must be impressed with a profound sense of God's all-pervading providence, "and of its responsibility to Him as the moral Ruler of the world. The powers that be are ordained of Him. From Him the magistrate receives his commission, and in His fear he must use the sword as a terror to evil-doers and a praise to them that do well. Civil government is an institute of heaven, founded in the character of men as social and moral, and is designed to realize the idea of justice. . . . As the State is essentially moral in its idea, it connects itself directly with the government of God." (Vol. IV, p. 514.)

In the same volume is a memorial of the Southern Presbyterian Church, prepared by Dr. Thornwell, addressed to the Congress of the Confederate States, asking that there be placed in the Constitution of the Southern Confederacy a recognition of the Lord Jesus Christ. That constitution already contained a recognition of God. A few extracts are herewith given.

"It is not enough for a State which enjoys the light of Divine revelation to acknowledge in general terms the supremacy of God; it must also acknowledge the supremacy of His Son, whom He hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds. To Jesus Christ all power in heaven and earth is committed. To Him every knee shall bow and every tongue confess. He is the Ruler of nations, the King of kings and Lord of lords."

"That Jesus Christ is the supreme Ruler of the nations we know with infallible certainty, if we accept the Scriptures as the Word of God.

"But it may be asked—and this is the core of all the perplexity which attends the subject—Has the State any right to accept the Scriptures as the Word of God? The answer requires a distinction, and that distinction seems to us to obviate all difficulty. If by 'accepting the Scriptures' it is

meant that the State has a right to prescribe them as a rule of faith and practice to its subjects, the answer must be in the negative. The State is lord of no man's conscience. As long as he preserves the peace and is not injurious to the public welfare, no human power has a right to control his opinion or to restrain his acts. . . . But if by 'accepting the Scriptures' it is meant that the State may itself believe them to be true, and regulate its own conduct and legislation in conformity with their teachings, the answer must be in the affirmative. As a moral person, it has a conscience as really and truly as every individual citizen." (Pp. 551, 552.)

Messiah the Prince, or The Mediatorial Dominion of Jesus Christ. By William Symington.

In considering the proof that Jesus Christ is Ruler of Nations the author finds his first argument in the fact that "national subjection to Jesus Christ as Mediator is directly enjoined upon civil rulers. 'Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest He be angry, and ye perish from the way when his wrath is kindled but a little.'" As proof that this is addressed to civil rulers, not as individuals but in their official capacity, he shows that the Second Psalm from which the quotation is taken represents these rulers "in their public capacity as plotting against the Lord and that it is in this capacity they are here addressed." (Pp. 195, 196.)

Commentaries on the Laws of the Ancient Hebrews, with an Introductory Essay on Civil Society and Government. By E. C. Wines, D.D., LL.D. Presbyterian Board of Publication, Philadelphia.

The Introductory Essay is a very valuable contribution to the literature on political science. Of the origin of civil government Dr. Wines says: "The true origin of civil government and its ultimate foundation, undoubtedly lies in the will of God. Government is, therefore, a divine institution. Reason, revelation, and the best human authority, concur in enforcing this conclusion." (p. 18.)

"There is a general concurrence among moral and political philosophers in the doctrine, that civil government is founded on the will of God." (p. 29.) But Dr. Wines does ample justice to the Social compact theory by showing what it has to do in the establishing and administration of civil government. He says: "All these, society, government, law, are, at the same time truly divine and truly human institutions. They are divine, inasmuch as they are essential agencies in carrying out the divine purposes in the creation of man. They are human, inasmuch as they are instituted and administered by men, without any special and immediate interposition of the Deity (p. 33)

Introduction to the Study of International Law. By Theodore D. Woolsey. Scribner's, New York.

In the introductory chapter, which treats of the definition, growth, jural and moral grounds, and the sources of International Law, Dr. Woolsey says that "There are moral relations which give rise to international morality. It may be said, to say the least, that nations have duties and moral claims, as well as rights and obligations." (P. 31; see 16.)

Life and Works of J. R. Sloane, D.D. Edited by Professor Wm. M. Sloane. A. C. Armstrong and Son.

In a number of addresses published in this volume, Dr. Sloane maintained with great power and eloquence the moral character and accountability of nations, their obligation to frame their laws in harmony with the divine law, and the duty of making an acknowledgment of the divine claims upon nations in their frameworks of government.

In an address on the Moral Character of the Nation he said: "Every government, by equitable laws, is a government of God; a republic thus

governed is of him, through the people, and is as truly and really a theocracy as the commonwealth of Israel. The refusal to acknowledge this fact is as much a piece of foolish impiety as that of the man who persists in refusing to acknowledge that God is the Author of his existence." (P. 273.)

Civil Government. A series of Lectures on Romans 13:1-7. By Rev. James M. Willson, D.D.

With great clearness and power Dr. Willson sets forth the teachings of the Divine Word as to civil government. In speaking of the authority of those who bear rule he says:

"They derive their power from God, or in other words, government is a divine institution, originating in, and, of course, sanctioned by the will of God. National organization is not the creature of the voluntary action of the inhabitants of a particular country or district." (Pp. 25, 46.)

The Next Great Awakening. By Josiah Strong. The Baker and Taylor Company, New York.

This, as well as other works of Dr. Strong, such as *Our Country*, *The New Era*, *The Twentieth Century*, are helpful.

A number of books will be named without making any extracts. All these will be helpful in gaining a correct and full knowledge of politics both theoretical and practical.

The Political Theories of the Ancient World. By W. W. Willoughby. Longmans, Green and Company, New York.

Christianity and the Social Order. By R. J. Campbell. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The Approach to the Social Question. By F. G. Peabody. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Standards of Public Morality. By A. T. Hadley. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation. By Florence Kelley. The Macmillan Company, New York.

American Political Ideas. By John Fiske. Harper and Brothers, New York.

Theology and the Social Consciousness. By H. C. King. The Macmillan Company, New York.

XI. PUBLICATIONS ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION.

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Sabbath Laws in the United States. By the Rev. R. C. Wylie, D.D. 250 pages, bound in paper, 35c a copy; bound in cloth, 75c a copy.

Our National Christianity and Fundamental Law. By the Rev. John A. Henderson, D.D. 16 pages, 5c a copy; \$2.50 a hundred.

Christ the Ruler of Nations. By the Rev. T. P. Stevenson, D.D., LL.D. 16 pages, 3c a copy; \$1.50 a hundred.

The Principles of National Religion. By Dr. Wylie. 20 pages, 3c a copy; \$1.50 a hundred.



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